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always a taboo relationship to a man. Whether this taboo relationship is fundamentally a cross-cousin or a mother-in-law one is at present a matter of conjecture.[1]

Between cross-cousins of the same sex (*ripunga* and *ripungaina*, see terms 18 and 19) there is friendliness, cordiality, and affection. The link connecting them is the very close and affectionate mother's brother or father's sister, and there is no possibility of sex conflict, because they are of the same sex.

A mutually helpful and affectionate relationship exists between parents and children. An infant or child is cared for by the older member, and in a similar way an old, feeble member is dependent upon the younger one of the relationship.

There is also a friendly helpful and fond relationship between brothers and between sisters. A brother and sister relationship is marked by friendliness and helpfulness, but at the same time there is a semi-avoidance to insure an absence of sexual relations. Sexual play between them before puberty is prohibited, and while there is a frequent exchange of gifts and services in adult life, there are no intimacies. Conversation is limited to a minimum.

The term mother is used for the mother's sister and father for the father's brother, and a person calls his mother's, sister's, and father's brother's children by the term brother and sister (see terms 1, 2, 3, 4). Should a native's own mother be dead, his mother's sister takes her place. Similarly, if an old woman's own children are dead, her sister's children will take care of her. If a native's mother and mother's sisters are all alive, some of his duties towards the latter will remain latent. But other duties, such as assistance in garden work, will be carried out.

For the mother's brother and father's sister new terms

[1] The native word for taboo when applied to objects (and not to people) is *korul*. So whether *korup* is a kinship term in the same sense that "mother" is, or whether it is simply a word for taboo, is also uncertain.

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601 are used (see terms 8, 9, 10, 22, 23, 24). The former is the
604 closer of the two relationships, and this can easily be correlated with the fact that in this matrilineal society descent is through the mother. The mother's brother accepts economic responsibilities for rites held during his nephew's and niece's infancy and youth, and they, when grown up, accept economic responsibilities towards their maternal uncle, assisting him in various undertakings and providing his mortuary feast. Between a man and his sister's children there is a warm personal relationship throughout life. Friendly obligations between a native and his father's sister also exist, but they are of less significance than those towards his mother's brother. When one member of the former relationship is dancing it is the privilege of the other one to hit the dancer on the back with white lime, and the dancer will then be obliged to give him a small gift, usually tobacco, after the dance is over.

601 The reciprocal term *yaya* used between grandparents and
603 grandchildren (see term 13) is one of the most widely extended ones. Real grandparents have duties at the birth of their grandchildren and contribute food to the feast when their daughter or daughter-in-law gives birth to a child. The relationship throughout life is an affectionate one.

551 A taboo on personal names exists in the *onga* relationship
607 (see term 16). A man cannot mention the personal name of his wife's brother nor a woman the personal name of her husband's sister. They usually refer to each other as the father or mother of so-and-so. But that is as far as the taboo goes. The two members in the relationship can work and talk together and be good friends.

In the *papa* relationship (see term 17) there is no such name taboo. A man calls his brother's wife and a woman her sister's husband by their own name, and the relationship is a friendly one. They are, of course, potential mates in the event of the death of their spouse.

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An affectionate relationship between a child and maternal uncle is also usual. Food and tobacco are frequently given by the mother's brother to his nephews and nieces. The relationship is a friendly, affectionate, gift-giving one. The children may eat with the mother's brother, but they never sleep in his house. They sleep in their parents' house, except the older boys, who use the men's house. The mother's brother is not the disciplinarian. If a scolding or spanking is due it is the duty of one of the parents. The maternal uncle does not even seem to be particularly concerned with his niece's or nephew's conduct. That is their parent's business. When Batu, a young, unmarried girl, stayed away very late one night, it was her parents who sat up and worried because they did not know her whereabouts. Her maternal uncle was fast asleep in his house and did not even know of his niece's absence. Also in minor details, such as defecation, assisting in the daily tasks, it is the parents who both command and discipline.

There is also a very affectionate relationship between parallel cousins of the opposite sex, such as a girl and her mother's sister's son. An affectionate attitude is shown in public between these two. For instance, one girl who had just reached puberty and her cousin, who was several years older, walked around hand-in-hand, or with arms thrown carelessly around each other, and playfully fondled each other. The same kind of affectionate playfulness exists between grandparents and grandchildren and a maternal uncle and his niece. To the foreign observer it is more noticeable in the behaviour between the cousins mentioned above, probably because of their similarity in age. In this parallel cousin relationship, it must be noted that the two are of the same clan and the kinship term between them is that of brother and sister. One sees much more demonstration of affection between these cousins who call themselves brother and sister than between real brothers

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and Mekeo and I are making these rites for the first time. All of you from Langania, all of you from Lesu, all of you from Ambwa, and two men from Laummasong have come. All of us have come at one time. There are many men here. When the *malanggan* is finished all of you will go back. We do not have many men at Ponatlege, three men and three women, that is all. I want to finish my speech. I do not like to make long speeches. I have finished." Now eight women who stand in the relation of father's sister to the boys (*Tomangaina*) walk up to them. The boys give them the taro and the pig's entrails, and each woman gives her *Tomangaina* a little tobacco and a half *tsera*. The mothers of the boys gave them the taro and pig's entrails which they have just handed to their *Tomangaina*. The latter now step back into the crowd.[1] The boys and men then dance, in silence. They turn, kneel slightly, turn about again, and this turn and kneeling motion is repeated six or seven times. Each man carries a stalk of the long grass, *Lil*, in his hand, and on their last turn he hurls his *Lil* in front of him as if it were a spear. This *Lil*[2] is supposed to be dangerous, and that is the reason most of the men and women ran for shelter when the dance was begun, and why those who did remain outside were careful to be out of reach of the shafts of this grass. It is believed that if it touches the skin sores will appear.

Sola, an important old man of the Sinimanbul clan, and the one owning the *Walik malanggan* now on display, stands up and talks. "Before, when I was a little boy, I lived in Tabar. I saw this *malanggan* there. Later I came to Lesu, but before I left Tabar I paid *tsera* to

[1] It is of interest to note that this is the first time in the rites that relatives on the paternal side have taken an active part, and that these women are of the same moiety as the future mates of the boys.

[2] The *Lil* is a species of *Graminae imperata*.

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Early the next morning everyone again assembles at Ponatlege. First comes the distribution of food. The women of Tagam (Ponatlege and neighbouring hamlets) give to the other women baked taro and pigs' entrails.

Then follows an interval when everyone waits for the dancing to be resumed. In come the women from Tagam and a few from Langania (one of the boys who has been circumcised is from Langania). Most of the women have their hair painted red, but a few have it a vivid blue. All have a smudge of the white powdered lime on their cheeks, and each one holds a leaf. They perform the *Bilalo* dance, which is one of the abstract formations. During the dance one man with powdered lime in his hand strikes one of the dancers on the back. A woman also with the powdered lime hits a dancer on the back. Later the dancer will give the person who hits him some tobacco. This action takes place frequently during all the dances, and occurs between two people who stand in the *tamangaina* and *ripunga* relationship.[1] The action just described always occurs whenever there is ritual dancing, and usually provokes laughter from the audience. I was unable to get any explanation of it from the natives, except that it always occurs between the kindred mentioned.

This dance is the first performed by women in these concluding rites. The dancers come from the same hamlets as the boys who were initiated. When the boys went to be circumcised, the women from all the surrounding villages danced and the men formed the audience. When the boys come out from the enclosure, it is the men from all the near-by villages who dance and the

[1] The first is the relation between a man or a woman and their father's sister, and the second is the relationship between a man and his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son, and between a woman and her mother's brother's daughter or her father's sister's daughter's daughter. When the relationship is between two females, the term is *Rapungaina* (*ina* being a suffix denoting female).